PREFACE

This study is the result of work undertaken while the investigator was a member of the University of Michigan 1951 Expedition to Iraq and Iran. He must first express his gratitude to the director of the expedition, Professor George G. Cameron, and to the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research for having made this inquiry possible. The investigator lived in the town of Rowanduz, a Kurdish administrative and mercantile center in northern Iraq, for a period of seven weeks in the summer of 1951, a large part of this time as a guest in the home of a Kurdish merchant. He was accompanied by an interpreter, a former employee of the intelligence service of the British Army, and the facility with which much of this information was gathered can be attributed to the ability and ingenuity of this person. The investigator is well aware of the shortcomings which can arise from the use of an interpreter and the brevity of a visit. In the first regard, however, the repetition of inquiries and the retranslation of recorded narratives to the townspeople revealed that a considerable degree of accuracy in this medium was being obtained. The teachers of the town's schools offered additional corrections and amplifications. There is still, of course, the possibility of error, but the investigator feels that mistakes must be few in number, not only because of the ability of his

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Attention might be directed to the land of Rowandus itself. Before the Russians burned the old town, the present site above the valley was occupied by only a few Ottoman buildings, summer residences, and gardens. Most of the choicest lands in the new town are owned by Lali Khan and Ra'uf Effendi whose families had titles from Ottoman times. In the lower priced lands of the modern upper town there is a variety of tenure, government (amiriy), private (tapu), and religious endowment (waqf), but the two most important owners are those mentioned here.

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It is somewhat unfortunate, in treating the economies of the Rowandus district and the position of its principal town within such a system, to be unable to present an exact quantitative analysis. In the absence of government statistics, and faced with the widespread distrust of the populace toward inquiries which might bear some relation to taxation, one must be satisfied with a generalized description of a *primary* nature. This need not be regarded as a deficit, inasmuch as the more important conclusions of this study have reference to social structure, an emphasis, however, which in no wise implies that the economic background is not critically germane to the discussion. It is therefore possible, in closing this section, to re-emphasize certain generalities which statistical information would not seem likely to modify in any serious fashion.

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The size and importance of any town can be governed by a number of things, environmental, economic, social, or religious.

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fifteen minutes. Refreshments are prepared by the women and are carried in by a male servant or one of the children. A young woman, either of the family or a servant, never enters the guest-room, particularly in the presence of a plurality of male guests, but older women, if the mistresses of the house and of aristocratic lineage, may enter and chat with the visitors. The investigator was entertained by Lali Khan and Beyia Amina, the Turkish wife of Shakir Effendi, both unveiled and neither of European education or inclination. Visiting women, almost always married and related in some way to the house, are entertained in the sleeping rooms or in the courtyard at large, for some confusion might obtain in the diwankhana if the house-owner and a male guest should suddenly appear. Finally, this room is infrequently used for mixed family gatherings, say, the visit of an uncle, in which men, women, and children take part.

In this connection it is convenient to mention the gardens, because, wholly aside from whatever productive value they might possess, they are used, just as the guest-room, for the reception of visitors in summer. It is the desire of every householder, as an American might plan a study, a recreation room, or, indeed, the same thing, to have one on his property. A "garden" need not refer to beds of flowers or vegetables, but rather to a secluded, grassy plot shaded by trees, and the intense romantic attachment of the Kurd, or of almost anyone in the Middle East, to these places is defined with difficulty, a sentiment by no means confined to the intellectual or the wealthy,

wealthy widow, never lives alone, and rarely remains unmarried for any length of time. It would be virtually impossible for her to have an unmarried man in her service in the face of popular opinion. It is much the same with a bachelor living alone, for the townspeople would never countenance his engaging a maid, even if he could find one. The same holds true of an unmarried person living with a family to which he is not related. The investigator lived for a time with the family of a merchant, superficially segregated from them by a wall of blankets, and a certain segment of neighborhood opinion let it be known that this householder had sacrificed the honor of his family for the sum of the rental. The merchant informed the investigator that he was convinced that the latter, as a gentleman, had no evil intention toward his womenfolk and that the wall of blanketing was for "the neighbors" rather than any practical purpose of segregation. This, incidentally, provided him with an excuse for charging a slightly higher amount than necessary. It is also interesting that, after the rooms had been engaged, several invitations were received, accompanied by expostulations, to stay as a guest with other families, deferred until this time. Almost all of those unmarried, the teachers and lesser officials, must hire houses and male servants of their own. There are a few exceptions. The gaimuyan, unaccompanied by his wife, lived alone, and had several persons, including a widow, in his service. The superiority of his position, coupled with the fact that he was already married,

Both festivals are marked by dancing and music, and, as these are subjects in themselves, only the briefest descriptions are presented here. The usual type of dance is that of the shi'i, the mating celebration, and is performed by a circle of men and women with interlocked arms following a leader, the rear usually brought up by the host of the party or his deputy. The dance has three variations, zarnag'i, "going in the direction of the leader's right hand," shengal'i, "going in the direction of the leader's left hand, and perik "waiting instead of dancing, and changing step." The dance step itself, for want of a better description, is a shuffle which takes one in a lateral direction. Kurdish music is similar to that of the Arabs, the Iranians, and the Turks, a single melodic line in a minor key, characterized by the arpeggiations and turn, against a rhythmic background. Musical instruments, in Kawandus played only by amateurs, include the small drum, the tambourine, and the single or double reed flute. The lute is also widely used by the Kurds, but it is not found at present in the town. A program of typical Kurdish music may be heard broadcast daily by an Iraq government radio station. The investigator usually tuned in this music for the benefit of the women of the house in which he was living at Kawandus. Once the eldest daughter presented a request that "the boy tell the man" to play a certain song she wanted to hear at the moment, which indicated a sixteen-year old girl's knowledge of radio.

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Fig. 1. Village watercress. Married women fetching wood home. Before

and village [illegible]. However, he goes on: "The women of the richer classes bring in wives, mostly in the harems of their husbands or fathers, and will share their go abroad"[illegible]. He then distinguishes between conditions in towns and villages. He further adds— "... but I regret that it is little in my power to follow them into their privacy, and describe them in their domestic duties"[illegible], so which he shares the fate of all male investigators visiting Islamic areas.

Concerning the position of Kurdish women in Persia, Bellaires, (1949, writes: "Die Frauen regen keinen Schleier und genossen mehr Freiheiten als bei den meisten anderen mohammedanischen Völkern"[illegible]. The same is repeated by Rondeau (1967, "La femme ne considère chez les Kurdes, comme l'égale de l'homme. Elle n'est pas astreinte à porter le voile"[illegible]. Some commentators that the veil is quite rudimentary among the Kurds[illegible], that "the wife has a remarkable freedom", or "the women are practically as free as in any European country except that they do not go to the house"[illegible]. In the same way he stresses that the Kurds in central and southern Kurdistan give the wife "a superior treatment ... than is seen among Mussulmans races"[illegible]. Sir Ferrières similar information when he says: "The Kurds treat their womenfolk with much more respect than do most Mohammedan races. Only the Arab

commenced from the moment. He was carried by the child's maternal uncle, Ali. The wedding was done, as had been the case with the little girl, amongst by the mother and other female relatives. In this house it was performed in the back room. Being a woman, I was unable to see what the child was placed upon, but the body was dressed in the embroidered of the room as a female does. In this case, the death involving a male, the material for ornaments and wedding gloves was torn into pieces by a knife, the knife, though the wedding gloves was also torn seen by one of the women bedfellows of the dead child). Neither the mother nor any other women of the house broke into lamentations, and no sacrifice of any animal was made, but just as with the little girl, the child gripped one of its mother's hands from the moment the corpse matter had rolled it up and carried it into the bedroom. Later, it was carried to the mosque wrapped up in the little girl had been, in a prayer rug beside the coffin, to be given the body for on the right side with the face pointing in the direction towards Mecca. The dead are covered with cotton, and face with earth in a flattened oblong mound. Two flat, roughly-hewn oblong slabs - one at the head and one at the foot[40] - are raised. The burial grounds outside the villages and government towns were, as a rule, marked by one or more big trees, the only trees of any great size in the landscape. Burial places looked bare and barren, like those in Arabia. In 1946 Hansen[41] accused the great difference between the simply, raised burial grounds of the Arabs, devoid of vegetation, and those of the Turks, which are planted and have sculptured gravestones, whereas the Arab graves, like those in Kurdish burial grounds, are rough, undecorated, and without inscriptions. According to what I was told by my interpreter, a relative's grave is visited for five years after the death. The women went out there every Friday, a thing I did not notice in regard of the children's deaths, while later the grave is forgotten.

The religious and mourning need for friends and acquaintances referred to by Hasluck[42], summons to funeral wake, was not given in the case of his two children's deaths. The day the child died, no food was cooked in the house, and his only thing obtainable was bread and water native. Nothing resembling that among Kurds a special agency[43] was found three days after the funeral to neighbours and friends. This was only done in the case of an adult death, not with a child, a thing I both noticed and was told. Some hours after the death news of condolence begin. They are made by women, always without jewellery. These visits continued for three days. As part of the mourning ceremony the bedroom that had been used for the washing of the corpse was closed, and neither heated nor used for the next eight days. The period of mourning for a child is fourteen days, during which time the chamber is not visited and glasses are not smoked. For an adult member of the family the mourning period was said to last for one to three years, visits of condolence being paid for a week. During the mourning years visits may be paid to other families in case of deaths, but otherwise people remain at home. Women wear black or dark coloured dresses, and any marriage is celebrated as quietly as possible. The sudden death of an old man in Tuyserre the day before a triple wedding resulted in the men's dance, otherwise obligatory, being dropped.

To sum up the most typical features of Kurdish funerals in Iraq. They take place immediately after death, the death certificate is issued if the deceased is an infant. The corpses must be of new, white native material, which even in the middle of the night can be purchased in the city, the corpse of the fourth being commenced for this purpose. Girls are washed by women and boys by men, in both